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AUTHOR Sikula, John P.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

Forty University of Toledo Teacher Corps interns (23 black and 17 white) were asked to respond to a Rokeach Value Survey on the first day of regular classes, at the end of the year, and at the end of the program. The objective was to examine what significant value changes, if any, took place during the program. Results are assessed according to racial groups rather than individuals. Results of the first survey show that the black interns were more concerned with cleanliness, independence, politeness, and self-control than were white interns. White interns were more concerned with honesty and salvation than blacks. Results of the second survey show that the groups differed significantly only in their rankings on the value, "Clean." Survey data at the end of the program indicate that blacks and whites demonstrated fewer significant differences in their values. The author suggests that experiential influences rather than racial ones may be dominant in affecting value formation and, hence, attitudes and behavior. (RWP)

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Value Changes in Black and White University Interns

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Prepared by: John P. Sikula
Department of Sociological Foundations
College of Education
University of Toledo
Toledo, Ohio 43606

Roberta R. Sikula
English Department
Scott High School
Toledo, Ohio 43620

Andrew F. Sikula
Department of Management
College of Business Administration
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Chicago, Illinois 60680

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Introduction

Today, there is much talk about and concern with how black and white Americans are alike and how they are different. Many people believe that blacks and whites are fundamentally different in such areas as life styles, behavior, attitudes and values. There is, however, very little hard data to support some of the stereotyped notions which many blacks and whites have about each other. This research was designed to determine for black and white university students working together in a two-year, federally-funded project, if there were basic value differences between the two groups.

Values describe what individuals consider to be important. Values represent wants, priorities, likes and/or dislikes for particular things, conditions or situations. A person's values describe the things or ideas that matter the most to him, things which he will strive and sacrifice for in order to obtain.

Importance of Values

A new body of current research is evolving which illustrates the relationship of values and value systems to such phenomena as personal goals, interpersonal conflict, group and cultural differences, human adaptability to change, organizational climate, managerial effectiveness, organizational performance, occupation and career choice. (Sikula, 1971).

Values and value systems are important for at least three reasons. First, the information an individual gains as a result of an encounter with one object should apply to other objects in that category. This means that an individual can make an inference about his relationship to an object

without directly encountering that object. The inference stems from encountering another object which the individual conceives to be in the same class or category. Second, such categories provide individuals with expectations about those objects that they believe to be members of the same categories. Thus, values can direct perception and behavior by causing an individual to notice certain characteristics of an object and to react to the object on the basis of those characteristics. Third, after a person develops a system of values, this individual now opens up channels of choice along which he is able to move. Without such a system of categories (values) in which to store information, an individual cannot effectively develop a differentiated repertoire of responses; he cannot desire or want things for he has no idea what he is missing, nor does he possess any sense of missing at all. Thus, a system of values constitutes a ready-made format for future thinking and behavioral responses. A system of values, accordingly, serves as a frame of reference.

Measurement of Values

In the past, one of the most popular value measuring techniques was the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. Currently, new but popular is some form of the Rokeach Value Survey. Rokeach has developed his Value Survey over the past several years to the point where many experts consider it to be the best value and value systems device currently available. Theoretical and statistical support backing the popularity of this technique is available (Rokeach, 1968, 1971). Much, and probably most, of the current research being done in the area of value theory has utilized this newly developed Rokeach tool. The Rokeach Value Survey consists of two sets of values, each containing eighteen individual values. One set is called "terminal" values and represents certain end-states of existence; the other set is labeled "instrumental"

values and represents "means" toward achieving the ends or terminal values. Respondents are asked to rank-order the two sets of values putting a number one in front of the most important value, a number two in front of the second most important value, until a number eighteen is placed in front of the least (or eighteenth most) important value. Additional description and explanation of the Rokeach Value Survey are beyond the scope of this article but such information is readily available elsewhere (Rokeach, 1968, 1971).

Background

Forty University of Toledo Teacher Corps interns were asked to respond to the Rokeach Value Survey during their first regular classroom meeting in the summer of 1971. In the program, there were 23 black and 17 white college students working together in a program designed to improve the teacher preparation of inner-city teachers. The interns were almost all first-generation college students reared in either the Toledo or Detroit inner-city area. Interns were almost all from working class families and backgrounds, and they lived if single on their $90 a week Teacher Corps stipend or if married, on the combined monies from the stipend and their spouse's income. Several interns married other interns after the program began. Interns were required to live and work in the Toledo inner-city area and their life style could accurately be described as working class.

Having adequate money to live and meet bills was a problem for interns, 16 of whom were single, 18 married, 5 divorced and one widowed. There were 26 females and 14 male interns ranging in age from 20 to 42. The average intern was 24 years old, a little older than a typical college junior.

In terms of previous school experience, which is considered desir-

able in being selected for the program, 23 interns had some experience from serving as a paraprofessional to being a regular substitute teacher, while 17 interns previously had no significant school experience.

This background information should be kept in mind when generalizing about the findings of this research.

During the first year of the program, black and white interns, who all worked together in one all-black, inner-city elementary school, found that many of them had difficulty understanding the behavior of other interns. Some interns, like most people who do not understand a problem, felt confused, uneasy and unhappy because they as a group could not seem to pull together as one solid, unifying force working toward a common goal in a consistent manner. Separate black and white "seminars" were held during the first few months of the program. These were designed to find out why each person was in the program, what each was committed to, and what problems each seemed to be having regarding finding a place in the program that was personally satisfying.

As the program went on, formal "seminars" discussing personal and group interpersonal problems were phased out, but informal gatherings were frequently held for these same purposes. By the end of the program interns seemed to at least accept each other, and in many cases genuine understanding developed. Affectual relationships between several black and white interns also developed.

Research Objective

This study was designed to examine what significant value changes, if any, took place during the program. The Rokeach Value Survey was administered on the first day, at the end of the first year, and at the end of the program. The exact reasons for any changes which might

occur were not of serious concern since people change values for many different reasons. Personal interviews, some formal and many informal, with interns throughout the program indicated, however, that many interns felt that the interaction experiences provided during the program were causing them to change their values considerably.

Many independent variables appeared to be at work. The resultant changes in values reported in the following pages are for the two groups as wholes. Many individual value changes were evident, but they were often inconsistent for the group as a whole and, therefore, they are not reflected in this data.

Results

The value surveys given the first day revealed the following statistically significant results:

1. Blacks were more concerned with cleanliness, independence, politeness and self-control than were white interns.

2. White interns were more concerned with the values of honesty and salvation than were black interns.

The extension of the median test was used to analyze the value surveys[3]. Table I indicates the values, medians and value-ranking differences. The medians are representative of the whole group (blacks and whites), and X^2 refers to the difference between black and white value rankings. The larger the X^2 figure the more significant is the difference between black and white rankings. To be statistically significant at the .05 level, the X^2 figure must equal or exceed 3.84. If the X^2 figure equals or exceeds 6.64, it is significant at the .01 level.

Table I
Values, Medians, and Statistical Test Figures

Instrumental Values

	Value	Median	X^2		Value	Median	X^2
1.	Ambitious	10.00	.04	10.	Imaginative	9.75	1.23
2.	Broadminded	4.62	.96	*11.	Indenpendent	9.25	4.49
3.	Capable	8.87	1.23	12.	Intellectual	7.66	.96
4.	Cheerful	11.87	3.08	13.	Logical	11.75	2.17
*5.	Clean	12.00	4.49	14.	Loving	6.66	.04
6.	Courageous	8.66	.22	15.	Obedient	16.08	2.17
7.	Forgiving	9.66	1.23	*16.	Polite	15.20	4.49
8.	Helpful	8.33	2.17	17.	Responsible	8.37	3.08
**9.	Honest	5.25	7.65	*18.	Self-controlled	10.00	4.49

Terminal Values

	Value	Median	X^2		Value	Median	X^2
1.	Comfortable Life	13.85	1.23	10.	Inner Harmony	6.80	.22
2.	Exciting Life	11.30	1.23	11.	Mature Love	7.80	.22
3.	Sense of Accomplishment	8.70	.22	12.	National Security	16.70	.04
4.	World at Peace	9.70	1.23	13.	Pleasure	13.60	2.17
5.	World of Beauty	12.00	2.95	*14.	Salvation	14.90	4.49
6.	Equality	4.40	.22	15.	Self-Respect	6.10	.22
7.	Family Security	6.60	2.17	16.	Social Recognition	15.00	.02
8.	Freedom	5.30	1.23	17.	True Friendship	11.10	.04
9.	Happiness	7.00	1.23	18.	Wisdom	5.20	.22

*Significant at .05 since $X^2 \geq 3.84$

**Significant at .01 since $X^2 \geq 6.64$

Upon close scrutiny of Table I, one will notice that black and white interns differed at a statistically significant level on only one of the "terminal" values, the end-states of existence. However, black and white interns differed significantly on 28% of the "instrumental" values, and approached significance on another 11%, (X^2 = 3.08 is approaching significance on values cheerful and responsible). In other words, black and white interns agreed to a great extent on end-states of existence, but differed markedly on the means or ways (instrumental values) to attain these desired terminal values.

Again utilizing the extension of the median test, the value surveys administered at the end of the first year were analyzed. Table II reports the findings. This Table indicates that among the instrumental values, black and white interns differed significantly only in their rankings on the value clean. Among terminal values, they differed on the rankings of the values of comfortable life, sense of accomplishment, world of beauty, equality and salvation.

Table II
Values, Medians, and Statistical Test Figures

Instrumental Values

	Value	Median	X^2		Value	Median	X^2
1.	Ambitious	11.00	2.93	10.	Imaginative	7.50	.73
2.	Broadminded	5.75	2.93	11.	Independent	6.90	.73
3.	Capable	7.90	.00	12.	Intellectual	10.90	.73
4.	Cheerful	12.90	.73	13.	Logical	11.50	.00
*5.	Clean	14.70	6.60	14.	Loving	6.83	.73
6.	Courageous	7.50	.73	15.	Obedient	17.50	2.93
7.	Forgiving	8.90	.00	16.	Polite	15.61	.73
8.	Helpful	8.50	.00	17.	Responsible	6.75	.00
9.	Honest	3.90	.00	18.	Self-Controlled	10.70	2.93

Terminal Values

	Value	Median	X^2		Value	Median	X^2
**1.	Comfortable Life	13.50	18.33	10.	Inner Harmony	4.83	.00
2.	Exciting Life	8.90	2.93	11.	Mature Love	6.83	.00
*3.	Sense of Accomplishment	8.50	6.60	12.	National Security	16.67	.73
4.	World at Peace	11.70	2.93	13.	Pleasure	12.90	.73
*5.	World of Beauty	14.75	6.60	**14.	Salvation	16.50	11.73
**6.	Equality	5.50	11.73	15.	Self-Respect	4.50	.73
7.	Family Security	6.00	.73	16.	Social Recognition	14.83	2.93
8.	Freedom	5.50	.73	17.	True Friendship	9.50	.73
9.	Happiness	5.83	.73	18.	Wisdom	6.50	2.93

*Significant at .05 since X^2 _ 3.84

**Significant at .01 since X^2 _ 6.64

The initial study exhibited a trend of agreement over terminal values and disagreement over more than a fourth of the instrumental values. Black and white interns appeared to agree over the "end-states of existence" but disagreed often over the means of attaining these terminal values. This terminal-instrumental value relationship was reversed by the end of the first year. Black and white interns disagreed significantly on only one instrumental value, and differed significantly on over one-fourth of the terminal values.

The value clean was the only instrumental value to attain significance, with blacks favoring this value. Clean also reached significance during the initial study, with blacks favoring it. Therefore, black and white interns did not appreciable alter their attitudes concerning this value. Black and white interns did, however, change their rankings on a number of other instrumental values. These value changes follow:

1. Honest was significant with a 7.65 X^2 value during the initial study with whites favoring this value.

   The retest showed no difference at all between blacks and whites on this value.

2. Independent had a significant figure of 4.49 during the initial study with blacks favoring this value.

   The retest measured a .73 difference between black and white interns which is not even close to significance.

3. Polite had a significant figure of 4.49 during the first study, with blacks favoring this value.

   The retest showed a difference of .73, which is again not significant.

4. Self-controlled had a significant value of 4.49 during the initial study, with blacks favoring this value.

   The retest showed a difference of 2.93 which is not statistically significant. More blacks than whites still favored this value, but the difference between the two groups was lessened.

The surveys administered after the first year further indicated that black and white interns differed significantly on five of the eighteen terminal values.

1. There was an almost unbelievable difference between blacks and whites over the value comfortable life. The X^2 of 18.33 resulted because all of the black sample ranked this value below the median and all but one of the white sample ranked it above the median.

2. A sense of accomplishment attained a 6.60, which is a significant difference, with blacks favoring this value.

3. A world of beauty was significant with a 6.60 value, with whites favoring this value.

4. Equality exhibited a highly significance difference of 11.73 with whites favoring this value.

5. 'Salvation again reached significance (11.73) as it did in the initial study, but in the previous study, whites favored the value and here blacks favored it.

Two other values, social recognition and wisdom, showed virtually o difference in the first study, .02 and .22 respectively, but reached a 2.93 value here with more blacks than whites favoring both values.

The same value survey was administered again at the end of the two year program. It was hypothesized that the program, which was at least indirectly designed to bring groups with different values together over a moderately long period of time in a common cause which was considered important to all, would eventually contribute to interns becoming more alike in their value systems.

The survey data at the end of the program indicated that blacks and whites did in fact demonstrate fewer significant differences in their values. A complete listing of values, medians and X^2 values will not be given here since almost all rankings showed no significant difference. Rather, presented here is a chart which summarizes the results from the three different administrations of the value survey.

Statistically Significant Value Differences

	Beginning of Program	End of Year One	End of Program
Blacks high concern	cleanliness independence politeness self-control	cleanliness salvation sense of accomplishment comfortable life	comfortable life
Whites high concern	honesty salvation	a world of beauty equality	

The data analysis at the end of the program revealed that only comfortable life remained a higher priority for blacks among the terminal values. Instrumental value difference were all not statistically significant. Mature love, a terminal value, suddenly became a priority for whites and "salvation" remained a black priority, but these two values missed statistical significance at the .05 level. Instrumental values were not even close to significance.

It is important to note here that by the end of the program, six interns had dropped out for one reason or another. Three dropouts were black, three were white and two were men and four women. The original survey data covered all forty interns. The study at the end of the first year included only 22 interns, 10 blacks and 12 whites and 7 men and 15 women. The value study at the end of the program included 18 interns, 9 blacks and 9 whites, 5 men and 13 women.

There are many reasons why the number of interns responding to the surveys became less and less. Some interns became disenchanted with the worth of value analysis and clarification techniques. Others felt manipulated for only research purposes, while others grew tired of filling out any type of personal "evaluation" form. Although this decrease presented some problems, the findings remain significant since in the data analysis the Yates correction for continuity was used in determining significance. The significant value differences were also checked to make sure that sex, age and other factors were not responsible for the differences in rankings.

Discussion, Interpretation and Implications

A conclusion which could have been reached at the end of the first survey is that blacks and whites agreed on end-states of existence but disagreed on the ways to attain these values. This statement could not have been made later as the interns apparently valued similar ways of attaining the terminal values, but differed markedly on what end-states of existence to value. Black interns seemed to be moving toward valuing what could be termed middle -class values, a comfortable life, a sense of accomplishment

and cleanliness, while white interns decided that these values were of lesser importance. White interns, on the other hand, appeared to value what could be termed a "minority group cause" value and an esthetic value, equality and a world of beauty respectively.

A trend which is apparent in many government funded projects for the low-income may be operating here. Blacks who must struggle for acceptance within the dominant society take advantage of opportunities to vertically mobilize themselves; this involves the acceptance of middle-class values. Many whites, especially those involved in low-income projects, whose acceptance within the dominant society is less impeded and challenged, resist the acceptance of middle -class values and take on values which many lower-class, minority groups commonly express, e.g., equality and freedom. These phenomena are reasonable and provide justification for the prediction of fewer significant value differences by the end of the program.

And fewer differences there were. Yet during the two years some significant things appear to have happened. Originally, black and white interns differed significantly in their rankings of the values clean, honest, independent, polite, self-controlled and salvation. All of these, except salvation, are instrumental values. Black interns, the data indicated, valued cleanliness, independence, politeness and self-control more highly (i.e. ranked them numerically lower) than did white interns. On the other hand, blacks ranked honesty and salvation consistently above the median. This indicated a lower priority since the lower the ranking, the higher the value priority. Honesty was the

only value ranked significantly different at the .01 level in the original survey.

The original data supplied evidence against stereotyped notions about blacks being unconcerned about cleanliness, politeness, self-control or other supposedly white middle-class values. Apparently there are more black middle-class values than white. The evidence at the end of year one further shows that blacks adopted the middle class values of desiring a comfortable life and a sense of accomplishment.

The program appears to have contributed to making everybody more alike and more typically middle class. This should cause us all to stop and wonder. Have blacks and others who have come to work in inner-city schools as change agents adopted typical white-middle class values? Does working within the system cause us eventually to succumb to it? Is significant school reform probable or possible when efforts for change are directed from those within the system?

This study demonstrates that value changes did take place during an experimental teacher preparation program, but are the changes which occurred desirable? Should such programs serve to make everyone more alike? Some broader questions come to mind. How can we build into our educational system ways to respect individual differences rather than to modify and mold them? Is it really possible or desirable to respect individual differences in values, behavior etc, in formalized school settings?

This study pointed out that race was an important factor at least originally in determining personal values. Common experiences also

change our values. Originally the blacks and whites had more common experiences apart from each other, but as they shared experiences, their value systems became more and more similar. This study suggests that experiental influences rather than racial ones appear to be dominant in affecting value formation, which in turn affects attitudes and behavior. Given that common experiences can affect and tend to standardize values, attitudes and behavior, perhaps what is needed today if we are to ever really respect individuality in a supposedly pluralistic school system and society, is to provide uncommon, unusual and unique opportunities for students in schools. What is perhaps most needed are <u>real</u> alternatives designed primarily by students, parents and other nonprofessionals who are not so engulfed in the system that their vision is blurred. Perhaps this is the major implication of this research for educational practice.

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